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THE WORLD TOMORROW

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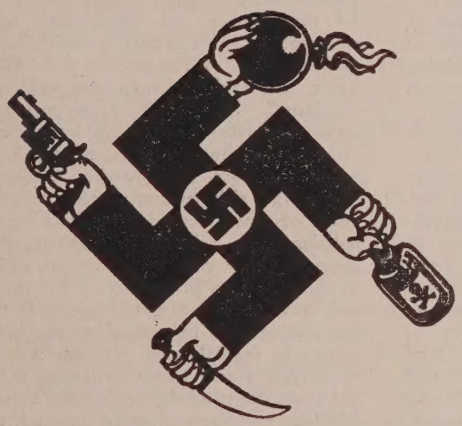

From *Der Wahre Jakob*

Hitler's Triumph?

H. N. BRAILSFORD

Is Coercion Compatible With Religion?

KIRBY PAGE

Wanted—Farm Life

KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD

After Capitalism—What?

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

MARCH 1st

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The World Tomorrow

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Ex Cathedra

MR. CHARLES SCHWAB takes every opportunity the newspaper boys offer him to reiterate that he is an optimist. He has been an optimist since the dim days of an historic past when he first aided Andrew Carnegie to consolidate his dominion of steel and ruthlessly beat down his rebellious serfs in the famous Homestead strike. The fact that Charlie Schwab was implicated in that strike as a young man just rising to power in the empire of steel and that he is now, at the age of 71, still with us as a kind of medicine man who gives us his incantations of optimism on every appropriate occasion, is a striking symbol of the brevity of the life of capitalism. At the time of the Homestead strike capitalism was in the buccaneer prime of its youth. Today it is senile and harassed by many foes and subject to every ill.

Mr. Schwab, observing his birthday in his Riverside Drive home in New York, uses the occasion to encourage his countrymen by one more optimistic statement. "Generally," he declares, "some unforeseen development takes nations out of their ruts. . . . From day to day we don't know what will happen. But I have never lost my optimism because it is based on fundamentals. There is no country so greatly endowed with the good things of God, and we are also rich in youth and energy. I will fight the depression so long as life lasts if a fight that long is necessary."

This Schwabian optimism is a pathetic symbol of the whole moral decadence of our culture. Its smile is the fatuous grimace of a civilization on its deathbed and afraid to contemplate its dissolution or to repent of the sins of greed and heedlessness which have brought it to its present state. It smiles therefore and hopes against hope "for some unforeseen development," for a little bit of magic, in other words. It speaks piously of "the good things of God" with which the country is endowed; as if wealth of natural resources could bring us salvation when a few have monopolized those resources and have left millions of their fellowmen to taste starvation. In all this there is not an inkling of recognition of the fact that our men of power, our crude engineers, our Schwabs, in other words, are the very authors of our misfortune because they built an empire by their robust energy and their brutal will-to-power without bothering to lay a foundation of justice for it. Their early successes created a superstructure which obscured the weak foundation. But the higher the structure was reared, the more precarious became its stability and the more inevitable it was that the weak foundation would yield under the weight it carried.

BUT Mr. Schwab wants to do more than smile the depression out of countenance. He wants to fight "so long as life lasts." What will he do? He will work "for tariff adjustments and tax reductions." The tariff adjustments may serve to restore health, but by tax reductions Mr. Schwab means, of course, that he will oppose the growing tendency to coerce the rich to contribute to the support of the victims of their heedless policies. Mr. Schwab, in other words, belongs to those who think we can get back on the road to prosperity if business can only produce at a profit again but who have no idea of how markets for business are to be reëstablished. If tax reductions could reëstablish prosperity, why did they not preserve it when, during the Coolidge-Mellon regime, we were treated to biennial reductions?

On the whole we prefer the smiling Schwab to the fighting one. He symbolizes a civilization in its death-throes. Let it beguile itself with a smile. If, like an old warrior in its delirium, it should dream of buckling its armor on again, it would die the more quickly and wreck the furniture in the sickroom.

Yet this hope is a rather vain one. The Charlie Schwabs will both smile and fight, whatever we may wish or hope. That is to say, dying civilizations are too fatuous to understand the peril in which they stand and too delirious to die in their beds. They must kill a few doctors and nurses before they finally succumb.

PRONUNCIO

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THE WORLD TOMORROW

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Roosevelt's Escape

A poor, mentally deranged individual took a shot at President-elect Roosevelt. The country was relieved over his happy escape from the assassin's bullet. In the newspaper hysteria which always follows in the wake of such events there was one very disturbing note. Journals as reputable as the New York *Times* speculated on the possibility of the act of the madman being related to a widespread plot of some radical organization. After indulging in such speculations, the newspapers finally assured the country that in all probability the Communists had nothing to do with the act of terrorism.

This is a nice way of spreading hatred by indirection. It may also be a proof of the abysmal social ignorance of the average journalist. We hold no brief for the Communist theory of revolution, but we know, as even the most casual student of social theory ought to know, that communism has nothing in common with a theory which sanctions individual terrorism. The Communists of Russia have never had anything but contempt and scorn for the nihilists who made various attempts upon the life of state officials in the latter half of the nineteenth century. They regarded the nihilists as sentimentalists who had no understanding of political realities. The widespread journalistic suggestion that Communists might have been implicated in a madman's folly is both stupid and dangerous. It increases the social distance between the fearful bourgeois classes and the rebellious radicals in modern society.

The Insull Infection

More unsavory features of the Insull case leaked out last week. Senator Norbeck's committee showed that while Insull Utility Investments was stating before the public in 1930 and 1931 that it was making large profits, it was claiming for income tax purposes large losses. General Dawes admitted that his bank had made loans to the Insull companies amounting to nearly 50 per cent of its capital and surplus whereas the law permitted loans to any one concern of only 15 per cent. Admitting that these acts violated the spirit of the law, General Dawes contended that they were technically legal since they were made to a number of separate companies. On the following day, Melvin A. Traylor followed Dawes to the stand and, after likewise testifying to such excessive loans by his bank, offered a similar excuse. Meanwhile, in Chicago, stock juggling of the worst kind was revealed in testimony before the federal grand jury, and the Utility Consumers and Investors League asked the Illinois Commerce Commission to probe the admitted losses by the three operating companies of at least $85,000,000 through stock market speculation.

Nor was the infection confined to financial circles. For during the boom period the dulcet and paternal voice of the "Old Counselor" was heard over the radio throughout the Middlewest advising people to buy Insull securities, which were being issued by Halsey, Stuart and Company. "The Old Counselor" now turns out to have been a well-known professor of public speaking at a Chicago University who sold his voice for $50 a broadcast and uttered with persuasiveness the canned speeches which had been prepared for him.

If anything can convince the American people of the essential immorality and fundamental weakness of an exclusive reliance upon the profit motive, the Insull case should do it. But the nation seems to be slow in getting the point.

Pouring Oil on the Flames

If the nations of Europe really desired to precipitate a general war, they could scarcely be more effective than by continuing certain of their present policies. Relations between France and Germany, between France and Italy, between the Little Entente (supported by France) and the combination of Hungary, Austria and Italy could hardly be worse without the outbreak of armed hostilities.

There is an abundance of reason for apprehension over the trend toward a new balance of power on the Continent. An already tense situation has been rendered more explosive by the recent determination of Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Jugoslavia to transform the Little Entente into a permanent and more active alliance. If the pending treaty is ratified by the three governments, a permanent council of the Little Entente will be created, to be composed of the three foreign ministers and assisted by a permanent secretariat. The agreement provides that every political treaty and every economic treaty which possesses important political significance entered into with foreign governments by members of the Little Entente requires the unanimous consent of the council. The alliance conventions which have hitherto bound the three nations together are renewed for an indefinite period.

A Paris correspondent of the New York *Times* re-

cently reported widespread apprehension in France concerning Italy's intentions. A series of diplomatic incidents has aggravated the deep hostility which had already reached a disturbing stage. The emergence of Herr Hitler across the Rhine and his dramatic announcement of a forthcoming visit to Signor Mussolini has dangerously irritated the French public mind.

On top of all this comes the Franco-British note to Austria, which is resounding over Europe like an ultimatum. The former nations have directed an inquiry to the latter, a statement "on oath" concerning the alleged shipment of 60,000 rifles (or was it 180,000 rifles) and 200 machine guns more or less from Italy to Hirtenberg, Austria, presumably for re-shipment to Hungary. The Austrian press is manifesting great indignation, while a German journalist has pointed out that the diplomatic procedure of requesting an answer under oath has been obsolete for over a century, the last recorded instance of assurance under oath occurring in a treaty between France and Switzerland in 1777. The Franco-British note has furnished the Italian press with a text for further chauvinistic outbursts.

Some persons will draw a moral to the effect that the United States had better avoid entangling alliances and keep its powder dry. But THE WORLD TOMORROW holds the opposite conviction: that the more ominous the international situation becomes, the more imperative is the demand for disarmament and the strengthening of international agencies of justice.

An Appeal to the Oxford Movement

Critics of the Oxford Movement have raised the question whether its methods of promoting individual piety may not cover an unintentional side-stepping of social issues that assuredly have a place in any really profound religion. A test of the movement at this point is provided by its own methods. It requires open confession of sin, and rigid restitution to those whom the penitent has wronged. What, then, is the content of the confessions that are being made, and how wide is the area of the restitutions that are attempted? A test like this is simple, practical, and as spiritual as anything in the movement. The results of it certainly would be illuminating, and they might conceivably cause the revival that we are witnessing to go on to far greater triumphs.

A practicable procedure for the proposed test is right at hand. Let any of the Oxford evangelists ask himself these questions: How does it happen that I have enough to eat? That I wear good clothes? That I slept last night in a comfortable bed? That I ride in sleeping cars? That I do not occupy the steerage when I cross the ocean? That I have received a good education? That I have books and cultured friends? That I never had to dwell in a slum tenement? That I never have been tempted towards certain kinds of crime? That I do not hate any class in society? That I am a member of a church? That I have a costly place of worship? The answer to these questions, if the questioner be rigorously realistic, will show that he is spiritually related (or related anti-spiritually) to a multitude of persons to whom he cannot confess in an Oxford-Group meeting nor in a house party. He obtains all the blessings just enumerated by participating in the prerogatives of a privileged class. Either directly or through his benefactors he has been making it profitable to mulct the laborer, to force children into factories, to exploit the natives of backward countries, to doom multitudes in his own country to physical, mental and moral stunting. He is a part of the cause of class divisions, and of the hatreds and the wars that devastate humanity.

This is said not at all by way of condemnation, but solely to sharpen the question, What is the range of the repentance that is recommended by the Oxford revivalists, and what sort of restitution do they require of converts? To open this wide vista into our spiritual and anti-spiritual life does not belittle the difficult decision, which the movement already requires, to restore anything that one has stolen, to undo the injury that one has caused through unkind words, to retract all false statements, and to cast utterly aside the pride that conceals wilful and selfish acts. The demand for the most searching honesty might seem to lead right on to the test that is here proposed. If it be said that the revivalists propose first to become clean, and then, afterwards, to tackle the social problem, what could this be but an evasion? We of the privileged class cannot become clean while we live by means of our privileges. The test that is here proposed, then, does not reject the principle of confession, restitution, and spiritual cleansing that has been offered us; the proposal is, rather, to extend this very process into the ordinarily hidden and extremely deceptive processes of the mind.

Unpatriotic Admirals and Generals

The national honor of the United States is being besmirched by the utterances of high military and naval officers. Throughout the literature of armed preparedness there is revealed a widespread tendency to disregard the treaty obligations of this country. In the Kellogg Pact we solemnly renounced war *as an instrument of national policy*. Yet the argument is constantly being advanced that our navy must be maintained at a high level in order that it may effectively support the State Department in maintaining our national policies. For example, in the *Army and Navy Journal* of February 11, Major General Fuller, Commandant of the Marine Corps, writes: "The duty of the Navy and Marines in China today is National Defense duty in close support of the National policies. The policy that sends the Marines on such duty is an

American policy, not one of a political party. And Tomorrow will not be much different from Yesterday or Today."

Another instance is found in an address delivered by Rear Admiral Moffett, chief of the navy bureau of aeronautics, on February 17 before the Naval Academy Graduates Association of New York City. Here are his significant words: "The decadence of its navy is a sign of the decadence of a nation. If the interests and self-respect of the nation are to be maintained, we must have an adequate navy at all times. By letting the navy become decadent, we are losing our self-respect as a nation and the respect of other nations. *We cannot maintain our foreign policies* [italics ours]; we cannot maintain peace, and we are inviting war by our weakness."

These are typical reflections of the military and naval mind. The argument is not seriously advanced that we need to spend more than 600 million dollars annually on the current expenses of the army and navy in order to keep our shores from being invaded. No, the primary purpose of our armed establishment, according to preparedness spokesmen, is to put teeth into our foreign policy and thereby safeguard our interests abroad. Thus the conclusion is inescapable that our admirals and generals are engaged in the basely unpatriotic business of urging the citizens of this nation to prepare for action which our government has solemnly sworn that it will never take.

Another perilous argument is found in Admiral Moffett's address. "Throughout the country there is great unrest," he continued. "Millions are out of employment, all looking to our national and state governments for relief, for something to be done; crime is rampant and Communistic doctrines have spread. The history of our country shows that the loyalty of the Army and Navy to the government has never been questioned, and such questioning is unthinkable, but the strength and endurance of our present form of government may ultimately depend on the loyalty and morale of our Army and Navy personnel, including the National Guard and reserves. This is therefore no time to kick the Army and Navy houn' dog around."

Pacifists like ourselves should realize that this is ominous talk. If the present economic order is to be transformed without resorting to violent class war, the army and navy must not be thrown into action to support the exploitation and injustice imposed upon the workers by the owning class. For peace-loving citizens to accept the Admiral's argument and support armed preparedness as a means of suppressing attempts on the part of the misery-stricken masses to secure justice, is to accentuate the explosiveness of the situation.

Let it be remembered, moreover, that the salaries of admirals and generals while they indulge in these incendiary and unpatriotic utterances come from the taxpayers' pockets.

A League Against Public Ownership

There are signs which indicate that the financial interests of the country may within the next year come out in favor of government ownership of railways. The R. F. C. has been able to keep them solvent and to enable the interest on the bonds to be paid by pouring in about $600,000,000 during the last year. It is evident, however, that this snowballing of debt cannot long continue and that a permanent policy must soon be worked out. The Baruch committee has just issued its report calling for the consolidation of competing lines, the elimination of wasteful and duplicatory expenditures, and a scaling down of the debt structure of the roads. There seems small prospect that this program will go through because of the conflicting ambitions of the various railways and the opposition of bondholders.

If the situation does not clear within the next year or two, there will likely be a drive to unload the railroads, or at least the weakest lines, upon the public—at a big price. For then the private investors could get 20 billions of dollars from the government in place of their shaky holdings and still point with disdain to the subsequent deficits on the railways as proof that government ownership does not pay and that private capital should continue in control of the succulently profitable industries.

It may therefore be necessary for the true friends of socialism to organize a *League Against the Public Ownership of the Railways at Twenty Billions.* But twelve or fifteen billions would be another story!

Senator Hull on Tax Exemption

The junior Senator from Tennessee, who apparently is slated for the ranking Cabinet position in the new administration, on February 8 introduced a joint resolution amending the Constitution to allow taxation of income from all securities issued under authority of government, federal, state or local, as well as salaries or fees paid under authority of the United States or any state. The text of the proposed amendment reads:

> Income derived from securities issued and from salaries and fees paid by or under the authority of the United States or any State may be included in any tax on income levied by the United States or in any tax on income of its residents levied by any State, except to the extent that prior to the ratification of this article income from any such securities has been exempted from taxation at the time of their issuance by the Government issuing or authorizing them; provided, that Congress may exempt from any such tax, Federal, State or local, for a period not exceeding five years, income from any securities hereafter issued under the exigencies of war.

In an accompanying statement, Senator Hull points out that at present we have some 36 billion dollars of federal, state and local securities largely exempt from all taxation, and that prior to the crash of 1929 the total value of properties exempt from taxation approxi-

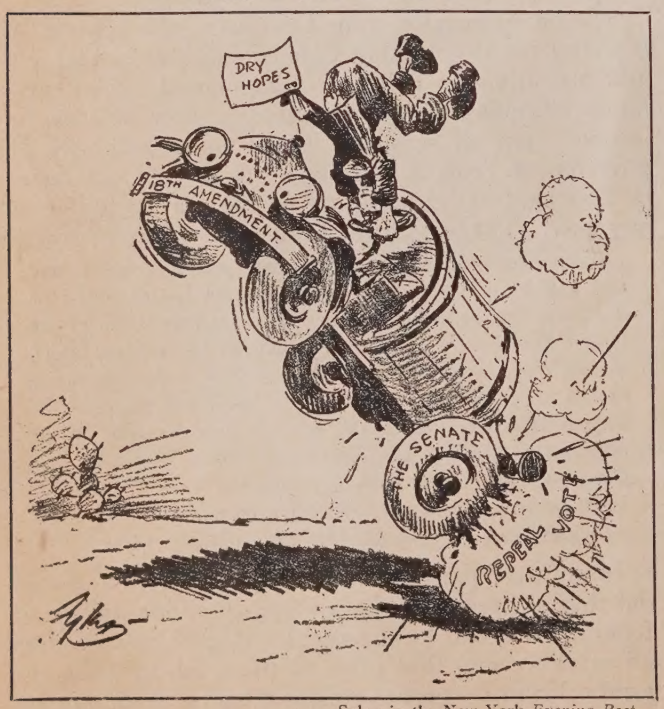
mated 60 billions. It is interesting to hear from the lips of the man who is likely to be our next Secretary of State such words as these: "Our tax-exempt policy, federal, state and local, has not only encouraged extravagant expenditures and unnecessary increases of debt, but it is driving the nation into a condition wherein there is gradually arising a great idle class living on tax-exempt income."

This proposed amendment deserves enthusiastic support from the public. The old argument to the effect that exemption of government securities is necessary in order to induce investors to purchase government securities has lost whatever value it once possessed, as investors are now scrambling to secure government offerings. If taxation is to be used as an instrument of public policy, such an amendment is imperatively required.

"Thar She Blows"

Under this caption the New York *Evening Post* recently printed Sykes' cartoon which we are reproducing below, and by an interesting coincidence published on the opposite page an editorial on "Last Year's Record in Traffic Accidents." Cause for rejoicing is shown in the fact that only 29,500 traffic deaths were recorded in the United States during 1932—only 29,500!—as contrasted with 33,700 during the previous year. A total of 7,200 persons were killed and 179,270 were injured in accidents where the driver was exceeding the speed limit, and some 82 per cent of the traffic deaths occurred as the result of collisions between cars or in cases where pedestrians were run down. Attention is called to the fact that during the past 15 years the death toll in this country from traffic accidents has approximated 325,000—"more Americans than were killed in action or died of wounds in the Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican, Civil, Spanish American and World Wars combined." And thus the conclusion is reached: "So the picture is not so bright as it might. Drivers still try to take the curves at sixty miles an hour. . . ."

"Thar She Blows!"



Sykes in the New York *Evening Post*

Cheer up! Good news comes over the wires from Washington. "Thar She Blows!" It won't be long now! Prohibition is being scuttled. The water wagon will soon be replaced by the brewer's truck. The saloon will again radiate genial hospitality. Then, too, the new cars are geared up to do 90 miles per hour, while the number of old defective cars on the road is steadily mounting. Yea verily! The picture is not so bright!

The Significance of White Collars

The report of the President's Committee on Recent Social Trends has disclosed the increasing importance of the white-collar workers. In 1870, agriculture and the manufacturing and mechanical trades comprised 75 per cent of all those gainfully employed, but by 1930 these occupations had come to include only a little less than 50 per cent. Trade and transportation, domestic and personal service, clerical work and the professions had, on the other hand, grown from 25 to virtually 50 per cent. There were indeed more clerical and white collar workers in these lines than the combined total of manual workers in the factories, mines, railways, and the building industry. They have become the most important single group in the country and their rise has been an unexpected shock to the followers of Marx who had believed that society was being divided into only two classes, namely, the capitalists and the manual wage-earners.

The plain truth of the matter is that no group can acquire political power against the open or tacit opposition of this class. Political socialism can only be successful if it obtains the support of the white-collar workers. In the past this has been almost impossible. The white-collar workers were disdainful of the manual laborers and fancied themselves superior to them. The Socialists and radicals, on the other hand, tended to spurn the white-collar folk as not being genuinely workers.

We may only hope that the depression has begun to beat some sense into the heads of both of these groups. The white-collar workers, whose jobs and savings have been so ruthlessly destroyed, should find greater safety in the pooled protection which a socialized economic system would afford, and they are beyond doubt more susceptible to liberal ideas than ever before. The So-

cialists, on the other hand, should realize how essential to their progress this class has become. While perhaps not many of the white-collar group will take the lead in the social movements of the next quarter-century, a very considerable fraction, if properly appealed to, will give these proposals their tacit support and may thus smoothe the road to power of the new ideas. But if this is to be done, the case for a real new deal must be powerfully and persuasively presented to them.

Turning to the Left

There is apparent in various parts of the country a distinct tendency on the part of intelligent members of the various professions to turn towards socialism. During the gilded 'Twenties these men and women were somewhat overawed by the apparent success of capitalism and accepted many of the big men at their face value. These idols have by now been rather thoroughly deflated, and doctors, engineers, social workers, and teachers are increasingly wanting to serve as functioning members of a coöperative society rather than as understrappers in an industrial and financial feudalism. These turnings toward a new social order are not as yet robust, and if prosperity should speedily return, much, although not all, of the sentiment would evaporate. But if the depression continues for some time there is likely to be a significant alteration in political sentiment, which, if properly capitalized, should range a large proportion of the white collar and professional classes among the economic dissenters. That would be a new thing in American history.

Concentration in Banking

Deposits of 100 million dollars and upward were reported by 42 banks in the United States at the end of 1932, and the combined deposits for the group exceeded 14 billion dollars. These 42 institutions held 32 per cent of the total deposits of all the commercial banks in the country, while the 195 banks having deposits above 20 millions each held 47 per cent of all deposits of the country, according to a report published in the *Financial Age*. In spite of a decline of more than 11 billions in bank deposits in the United States during the year, the 42 largest banks held their own, with a total shrinkage of less than 115 thousand dollars.

The 12 largest banks in Pittsburgh paid dividends averaging 22 per cent on their capital stock in 1932, although many Americans were inclined to regard that year as a period of severe depression. The average for all Pittsburgh banks in 1932 was 14.5 per cent, while the Union Trust Company, a Mellon-Frick institution, paid three millions on a capital stock of one million and a half, or just 200 per cent. The New York *Times* reports that 24 banks in that city averaged 16 per cent dividends during the past year, the highest rate being 100 per cent, paid by the First National Bank.

All along the line the tendency is toward fewer and bigger banks. These huge financial institutions are weathering the storm far more sturdily than are the smaller banks, and the relative degree of their dominance is rapidly increasing. The comparative figures deserve careful examination:

(*Last three figures omitted*)

Bank	—Gross Deposits— Dec. 31, 1932	Dec. 31, 1931
Chase National	$1,466,039	$1,459,115
National City	1,299,378	1,418,702
Guaranty Trust	1,038,778	1,070,022
Bank of America, San Francisco	700,448	799,220
Continental Ill. National, Chicago	673,123	773,437
Bankers Trust	621,867	558,086
Central Hanover	594,220	608,192
First National, Boston	550,940	476,989
First National, Chicago	459,624	476,150
Sec. First National, Los Angeles	452,777	479,013
First National, Detroit	423,357	483,911
Irving Trust	418,519	442,091
First National, New York	406,072	375,157
Manufacturers Trust	392,213	269,541
Bank of Manhattan	352,936	375,132
Chemical Bank and Trust	324,458	238,879
Philadelphia National	287,304	250,368
New York Trust	259,886	251,445
Cleveland Trust	240,917	245,637
Mellon National, Pittsburgh	219,272	191,912
Corn Exchange	213,525	230,008
Pennsylvania Co., Philadelphia	204,000	190,761
American Trust, San Francisco	200,938	220,205
Union Trust, Cleveland	194,925	221,555
Union Trust, Pittsburgh	175,217	153,285
First National, St. Louis	168,369	167,285
Anglo Cal. National, San Francisco	167,072	113,719
Marine Trust, Buffalo	159,910	193,022
Wells Fargo, San Francisco	159,514	150,547
National Shawmut, Boston	158,083	144,594
First Union Trust, Chicago	157,074	199,864
San Francisco Bank	151,114	147,011
Northern Trust, Chicago	149,514	87,061
Fidelity Union Trust, Newark	149,214	150,765
First Wisconsin National, Milwaukee	138,832	143,964
Guardian National, Detroit	138,386	169,058
Industrial Trust, Providence	*115,608	102,556
Brooklyn Trust	113,286	116,774
Harris Trust Savings, Chicago	110,046	92,887
Guardian Trust, Cleveland	109,751	123,133
Bank of New York and Trust	104,970	105,770
Mercantile Com. B. & T., St. Louis	101,830	102,046
Total	$14,523,306	$14,637,869

* Latest figures furnished.
(a) Continental National and Illinois Merchants deposits combined.
(b) National Bank of Commerce and Guardian Detroit deposits combined.

It will thus be seen that some 400 to 1,000 directors of these 42 titanic banks dominate the policies of financial institutions with deposits in excess of 14 billion dollars. Rapidly the public is awakening to the immense social danger inherent in this terrific consolidation of money power. The bigger these banks become, the more urgent the need for socialized banking and credit.

The League Tells the World

FOR ten solid hours on last Friday the League of Nations wireless station at Geneva broadcast to all the earth the 15,000-word report of the Committee of Nineteen on the Manchurian situation. In sheer dramatic quality few diplomatic events in history ever surpassed this summons to all people to listen as a momentous international decision was being proclaimed. A few hours later the New York *Times* enabled its readers to study the complete text of the document, thus turning a new page in journalism. Surely the departed devotees of secret diplomacy must have turned over in their graves!

February 21 deserves a red circle on the calendar as the beginning of a new epoch in international relations, for on that day the Assembly of the League formally received the report of the Committee of Nineteen. In the Committee's report two ancient prerogatives of nationalism are sharply challenged: the alleged right of a nation to decide for itself what means of self-defense are required in a given situation, and, secondly, the age-old practice of armed intervention in foreign territory as a means of protecting national interests and securing redress for grievances.

Since the adoption of this report by the Assembly may have epoch-making significance, its conclusions and recommendations should be clearly understood. That Manchuria is an integral part of China has been conclusively established, the fact being pointed out that in the early stages of the controversy Japan herself never raised any question as to China's sovereignty over this territory. The blunt statement is made that "the Assembly cannot regard as measures of self-defense the military operations carried out on that night [September 18-19, 1931] by the Japanese troops at Mukden and other places in Manchuria. Nor can the military measures of Japan as a whole, developed in the course of the dispute, be regarded as measures of self-defense. Moreover, the adoption of measures of self-defense does not exempt a state from complying with the provisions" of the Covenant.

The establishment of the state of Manchukuo "cannot be considered as a spontaneous and genuine independence movement." On the contrary, "a group of Japanese civil and military officials conceived, organized and carried through the Manchurian independence movement." The conclusion is reached that "to cut off these provinces from the rest of China cannot but create a serious irredentist problem likely to endanger peace."

While Japan had legitimate grievances against China, the methods adopted in the effort to secure redress are indefensible, and "no question of Chinese responsibility can arise for the development of events since September 18, 1931." Moreover, "the use of the boycott by the Chinese subsequent to the events of September . . . falls under the category of reprisals."

The Committee begins its list of recommendations with the demand for the withdrawal of all Japanese armed forces from Manchuria to the zone of the South Manchurian Railway. The sovereignty of China over Manchuria should be restored, although it is imperative that a large degree of local autonomy be granted to these provinces. The preservation of law and order should be intrusted to a gendarmerie composed of citizens of Manchuria, with the counsel and coöperation of advisers to be selected by China from a list compiled by the League of Nations. Various aspects of the dispute between China and Japan should be settled in accordance with the Lytton Report.

If the report is adopted the League will continue not to recognize this regime, either de jure or de facto and intends to abstain from taking any isolated action with regard to the situation in Manchuria and to continue to concert its action among its members as well as with the interested States not members of the League. The Committee advises an effort to enlist the coöperation of the United States and of Soviet Russia in support of its action. Thus the statement is made: "The settlement of the dispute should observe the provisions of the Covenant of the League, the Pact of Paris and the Nine-Power Treaty of Washington."

The Japanese military authorities appear oblivious to the collective judgment of the nations, and preparations are well advanced for a successful effort on Japan's part to commit hari-kari as a great power. No people are so blind as those who will not see.

A financial writer in the New York *Herald-Tribune* presents most alarming evidence of the frailty of Japan's financial structure. A year ago before Finance Minister Inouye was assassinated he estimated that six billion yen was the top limit of indebtedness which was safe for Japan. At present the national debt exceeds this limit by 500 million yen, and commitments already made will bring it up another billion and a half yen within a year. Moreover, the precipitous drop in the value of the yen has enormously accentuated the financial difficulties of the government. Interest charges on the national debt are at present consuming two-thirds of the annual income from taxation. Foreign loans are now almost impossible, and so there is tragic basis for the statement: "With underlying conditions what they are, financial disaster is not likely to be postponed as long as has been anticipated."

Whatsoever a nation sows, that will it also reap. If a nation sows militarism, it will reap chaos and ruin.

as Brailsford sees it

Hitler's Triumph?

IS it Hitler's victory? One might think so at first sight. Here, at any rate, is this obscure beer-house agitator, who once upon a time painted houses, seated as Chancellor in Bismarck's chair. He has enjoyed the peculiar sport in which German Chancellors frequently indulge today: he has dissolved the Reichstag. He has escaped a coalition with the still powerful Catholic Centre. He expects (though in such matters he may not be a good judge) a majority at the approaching election. What more could an ambitious leader desire?

None the less, I doubt whether it is Hitler's victory. I do not think that it is his destiny to become the dictator of Germany in the sense in which Mussolini and Pilsudski play that part in Italy and Poland. The man, to begin with, unless we are all mistaken about him, is unfit for such a destiny. He is an agitator, an actor, a spell-binder, but that is his only talent. Out of the limelight, when the bellowing voice and the hot but cloudy words will serve him no longer, he is timid, hesitating, vague—anything but a man of action. Others will guide him, as in recent years was always his fate. The question that calls for an answer is: What others? Who, or what, is the power that plays like a ventriloquist with this booming voice?

At this distance one cannot be sure that one knows all the essential facts about the intrigue that brought office to Hitler. It was apparently the personal achievement of Herr von Papen. And who is he? Not, so far as one can divine, a particularly dynamic figure. Certainly not a leader of men. No mass obeys him or follows him,—neither the army, nor any half-armed militia, not even a party. He is a restless man of some wealth and social position who seems to have a talent for imposing himself quietly on men of his own world, behind the scenes. He shone in the little world of the *Herrenklub,* the gathering place of the Prussian nobility. He came and went in the showy castles of the steel kings of the Ruhr. Above all he had the ear, and knew how to keep it, of President von Hindenburg. In short, von Papen is an intermediary, a go-between, a middle-man of power. What powers, then, has he brought together? First, the nobles, who own the physical soil of the Northeast, and all but own the laborers who till it. Then the great industrial magnates, who often act in politics as a closely-knit phalanx, and control an immense coagulated mass of trusts, cartels and banks. Thirdly, the old President, standing for legality, who wields on a stage of dwarfish figures a quasi-heroic prestige, and who (and this is, I think, his real significance) commands, both by law (which matters little in these days) and by his soldierly glory and ascendancy, the professional army, the Reischwehr. To these considerable forces von Papen was able at an early stage in his singular political career to add two others—Hugenberg's German-National Party, with about thirty seats in the Reichstag, and the veterans' legion, the *Stahlhelm.* Hugenberg is a captain of industry, who bought up newspapers and movies, broke away from the staider conservatives and built up an ultra-nationalist, ultra-conservative and monarchical party which has proved attractive to some of the nobility and landed gentry, and to many members of the professional class, including civil servants, professors and judges. This is, to sum up, the old Prussian governing class—landed gentry and officials, with big business ready to come to terms with it and the old army and the new army ready to march behind it. It stands for a ripe experience in the art of government from above, considerable executive ability, and a great mass of capital, but it can poll only about one-sixteenth part of the nation's votes. It is exclusively Prussian and has no footing in the South, and will always have against it the entire urban population of the industrial regions.

FEELING in itself the inherited capacity to rule in the old way and to bring back the past, and possessed of some of the real factors of power—armed force, capital and land—this combination none the less was impotent. Old Hindenburg had sworn an oath to the Constitution, and the Constitution is based on the rule of the majority. What then was it to do? It has vacillated between two expedients. First, it might prove that the Constitution is unworkable: repeated elections merely result in Reichstags which have no positive majority for any ministry whatever. The conclusion is clear then—ignore the Constitution and rule without it, or else alter it. The second expedient is to make a final bid for a majority by enlisting Hitler, for he has numbers behind him, though not quite enough of them. The two expedients are not mutually exclusive.

Once a majority is won (if it can be won) it will be easier to alter the Constitution. And finally, if even with Hitler's aid a majority cannot be won, then is not the case all the stronger for ignoring an unworkable Constitution or altering it by a dictatorial decree?

So far the scheme is easy to understand. It is the plan of a propertied class for an extreme type of reaction. By rousing nationalist passion it means to undermine or destroy the Republic, and to upset the unstable balance of power by which the Socialist and the Labor Unions have won something tangible for the workers in the shape of social reforms and political influence. It hopes, of course, to crush the Communists, and von Papen even dreamed of crushing Russia, for which purpose he was simple enough to suppose that the French would allow him to re-arm. Here, in the simplest terms, is a plan of campaign for an acute phase of the class war.

LET us now look at the much more complicated situation of Hitler. He never stood for the antiquated pre-war Germany. He was never the prophet of a Hohenzollern restoration. He talked of the Third Reich. What that meant, who can say? It was, however, some mystical, indefinable society wholly different from the old monarchy and different also from the democratic Republic. One may suspect that Hitler was always on the side of property and opposed with all the bitterness of the small middle-class man to the organised workers. One of the few things in his program that are perfectly clear is that he meant to destroy the labor unions—though he will doubtless offer the usual "yellow," Fascist substitutes for them. None the less, he did talk at times a bastard sort of socialism. He was eloquent in denouncing "Loan-Capital," and while one might not be sure of his meaning, it hardly boded much good to the capitalist system as it is. He was habitually offensive to bankers. He advocated inflation. He appealed to the small middle-class man, the little capitalist who hates trusts and banks and chain stores, and to the small clerk and shop-employee who really believed that the great Christian demagogue would chase his Jewish employer out of the land. One was disposed to think that all this meant little and certainly nothing precise. It reflected the muddled incipient radicalism of the main body of his followers—middle-class families that lost their savings when the mark crashed, university students who look with blank terror into a future where only a minority can hope for a post or a career. But Hitler had undoubtedly won some manual workers to his banner. He fed them when they were unemployed. He gave them uniforms. They thought he was leading them rather faster and with less risk than the Communists to a sort of revolution. This radical Left of the Nazis had leaders at headquarters and had recently seemed to be in the ascendant. It made common cause with Socialist and Communist workers in resisting the wage-cuts which von Papen, while Chancellor, authorized, and, above all, it shared in the famous strike on the Berlin subway.

One asks what this radical Nazi Left will think when it now sees Hitler arm in arm with the detested von Papen? Can it mistake the significance of his alliance with Hugenberg? It may conceivably trust the great spell-binder through one more election, but how long will it support him when he goes to work in earnest?

FOR what can he do? He cannot do much that might offend genuine conservatives like von Papen, Hugenberg and the *Stahlhelm*. He cannot even play at unorthodox finance, so long as that capable and experienced civil servant, von Krosinck, is at the Treasury. Nor can he do anything very startling abroad while von Neurath is Foreign Secretary. It is even doubtful whether there will be fewer Jews in a more Nordic Germany when Hitler's reign is over than there are today—though a few may be beaten up or murdered. What he will be allowed to do is what the rasher and more violent militants of the propertied class demand—he will persecute and possibly destroy the Liberal and Socialist press: he will combat the labor unions and lessen their rights and influence in the State; and he may proclaim the Communists an illegal party, and banish their hundred deputies from the Reichstag. It remains to be seen whether the Germany that emerges will resemble more closely its Fascist neighbors or the old-world Hohenzollern Empire: I incline to think the latter. But before than can happen with any finality, the chances are that Germany will be torn by two visible rents. The South will shake itself loose from the North, if it does not actually secede. The workers will be driven instinctively into some kind of uneasy, unorganised unity of action to resist this offensive of the old ruling class, though how any unity, even for resistance, can be improvised across the feud of the Socialist and Communist parties is as hard to foresee as it is ardently to be desired.

H. N. Brailsford

Santa Fe, N. M., February 12, 1933

Harbinger

I SAY there is no sky that is not blue;
I sing there is no song that has been sung.
No twilight melts to dark but night is new,
Even as day is young.

No moon elapsed before this morning's sun;
No morning will have been when stars adorn
Night over earth. Beauty, not yet begun,
Still waits but to be born.

CARL JOHN BOSTELMANN

After Capitalism—What?*

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

THE following analysis of American social and political conditions is written on the assumption that capitalism is dying and with the conviction that it ought to die. It is dying because it is a contracting economy which is unable to support the necessities of an industrial system that requires mass production for its maintenance, and because it disturbs the relations of an international economic system with the anarchy of nationalistic politics. It ought to die because it is unable to make the wealth created by modern technology available to all who participate in the productive process on terms of justice.

The conviction that capitalism is dying and that it ought to die gives us no clue to the method of its passing. Will it perish in another world war? Or in the collapse of the credit structure through which it manipulates its various functions? Will it, perhaps, give way to a new social order created by the political power of those who have been disinherited by it? Or will it be destroyed by a revolution? These questions are difficult to answer for any portion of Western civilization, and they are particularly puzzling when directed to the American scene. We may believe that the basic forces moving in modern industrial society are roughly similar in all nations. Yet we cannot evade the fact that various nations reveal a wide variety of unique social and economic characteristics and that our own nation is particularly unique in some of the aspects of its political and economic life. Our wealth has been greater than that of any modern nation, the ideals of a pioneer democracy have retarded the formation of definite classes, the frontier spirit belongs to so recent a past that its individualism is not yet dissipated, and the complete preoccupation of the nation with its engineering task to the exclusion of political and social problems makes us singularly incompetent as a people in the field of politics. All these factors, and some others which might be mentioned, warn the prophet to be circumspect in applying generalizations, derived from European conditions to our situation. It is therefore advisible to divide our problem of analysis by considering first those aspects of the situation about which generalizations equally applicable to Europe and America can be made; the uniquely American aspects may then be seen in clearer light.

The most generally applicable judgment which can be made is that capitalism will not reform itself from within. There is nothing in history to support the thesis that a dominant class ever yields its position or privileges in society because its rule has been convicted of ineptness or injustices. Those who still regard this as possible are rationalists and moralists who have only a slight understanding of the stubborn inertia and blindness of collective egoism.

POLITICALLY this judgment implies that liberalism in politics is a spent force. In so far as liberalism is based upon confidence in the ability and willingness of rational and moral individuals to change the basis of society, it has suffered disillusion in every modern nation. As the social struggle becomes more sharply defined, the confused liberals drift reluctantly into the camp of reaction and the minority of clear-sighted intellectuals and idealists are forced either to espouse the cause of radicalism or to escape to the bleachers and become disinterested observers. The liberal middle ground has been almost completely wiped out in Germany. It is held today only by the Catholic party, a unique phenomenon in Western politics. In England only the free-trade liberals who managed to extricate themselves from the Tory embrace and the quite lonely and slightly pathetic Mr. Lloyd George stand in the liberal position. The English liberals who interpreted their position as a championship of the community of consumers against warring camps of producers have had to learn that the stakes which men have in the productive process outweigh their interests as consumers. Mr. Roosevelt's effort at, or pretension to, liberalizing the Democratic Party may be regarded as a belated American effort to do what Europe has proved to be impossible. Equally futile will be the efforts of liberals who stand to the left of Mr. Roosevelt and who hope to organize a party which will give the feverish American patient pills of diluted socialism coated with liberalism, in the hope that his aversion to bitter pills will thus be circumvented.

All this does not mean that intellectual and moral idealism are futile. They are needed to bring decency and fairness into any system of society; for no basic reorganization of society will ever guarantee the preservation of humaneness if good men do not preserve it. Furthermore, the intelligence of a dominant group will determine in what measure it will yield in time under pressure or to what degree it will defend its entrenched positions so uncompromisingly that an orderly retreat becomes impossible and a disorderly rout envelops the whole of society in chaos. That ought to be high enough stake for those of us to play

* This is the first of a series of four articles analyzing the American scene.

for who are engaged in the task of education and moral suasion among the privileged. If such conclusions seems unduly cynical they will seem so only because the moral idealists of the past century, both religious and rational, have been unduly sentimental in their estimates of human nature. Perhaps it will be permitted the writer to add, by way of parenthesis, that he has been greatly instructed by the number of letters which have come to him in late months complaining that a religious radical ought not to give up his faith in human nature so completely lest he betray thereby his lack of faith in the divine. Classical religion has always spoken rather unequivocally of the depravity of human nature, a conclusion at which it arrived by looking at human nature from the perspective of the divine. It is one of the strange phenomena of our culture that an optimistic estimate of human nature has been made the basis of theistic theologies.

NEXT to the futility of liberalism we may set down the inevitability of fascism as a practical certainty in every Western nation. A disintegrating social system will try to save itself by closing ranks and eliminating the anarchy within itself. It will thus undoubtedly be able to perpetuate itself for several decades. It will not finally succeed because it will have no way of curing the two basic defects of capitalism, inequality of consumption and international anarchy. It will probably succeed longer in Italy and Germany than in America, because fascism in those countries derives its strength from a combination of the military and capitalistic castes. The military caste has a greater interest in avoiding revolution than in preserving the privileges of the capitalists. It may therefore be counted upon to circumscribe these privileges more rigorously than will be the case in America, where such a caste does not exist and where military men lack social prestige. A von Schleicher can always be counted on to build a more stable fascism than a "committee of public safety" consisting of Owen Youngs, et al., to whom the fascist task will undoubtedly be entrusted in America.

The certainty that dominant social groups which now control society will not easily yield and that their rule is nevertheless doomed raises interesting problems of strategy for those who desire a new social order. In America these problems are complicated by the fact that there is no real proletarian class in this country. All but the most disinherited workers still belong to the middle class, and they will not be united in a strong political party of their own for some years to come. Distressing social experience will finally produce radical convictions among them, but experience without education and an adequate political philosophy will merely result in sporadic violence. We are literally in the midst of a disintegrating economic empire with no receiver in bankruptcy in sight to assume responsibility for the defunct institution. All this probably means that capitalism has many a decade to run in this country, particularly if it should find momentary relief from present difficulties through some inflationary movement. The sooner a strong political labor movement, expressing itself in socialist terms develops, the greater is the probability of achieving essential change without undue violence or social chaos.

One of the difficulties of the situation is that America may have to go through a period of purely parliamentary socialism even after Europe has proved that a socialism which makes a fetish of parliamentarism will not be able to press through to its goal. Though we will probably have to go through the experience of parliamentarism, we may be able to qualify our faith in it sufficiently to be pragmatic and experimental in the choice of our radical techniques. To disavow pure parliamentarism does not mean to espouse revolution. Any modern industrial civilization has a natural and justified instinctive avoidance of revolution. It rightly fears that revolution may result in suicide for the whole civilization. When European nations are unable to achieve a bare Socialist majority in their legislative bodies, it is hardly probable that in America we will ever have such a preponderance of Socialist conviction that Socialist amendments to the constitution could be enacted. But revolution is equally unthinkable. There is no possibility of a purely revolutionary movement establishing order on this continent without years of internecine strife. For this reason it is important that parliamentary socialism seek to enact as much of its program as possible within the present constitutional framework during the next decades, without hoping, however, that socialism itself can be established in this manner. The final struggle between socialism and fascism will probably be a long and drawn-out conflict in which it is possible that fascism will finally capitulate without a military or revolutionary venture being initiated against it. It will capitulate simply because the inexorable logic of history plus the determined opposition of the labor group will finally destroy it. The final transfer of power may come through the use of a general strike or some similar technique.

PREDICTION at long range may seem idle and useless. But it is important to recognize that neither the parliamentary nor the revolutionary course offers modern society an easy way to the mastery of a technological civilization. If this is the case, it becomes very important to develop such forms of resistance and mass coercion as will disturb the intricacies of an industrial civilization as little as possible, and as will preserve the temper of mutual respect within the area of social conflict. Political realists have become cynical about moral and religious idealism in politics chiefly because so frequently it is expressed in terms of con-

fusion which hide the basic facts of the social struggle. Once the realities of this struggle are freely admitted, there is every possibility of introducing very important ethical elements into the struggle in the way, for instance, that Gandhi introduces them in India.

The inability of religious and intellectual idealists to gauge properly the course of historical events results from their constant over-estimate of idealistic and unselfish factors in political life. They think that an entire nation can be educated toward a new social ideal when all the testimony of history proves that new societies are born out of social struggle, in which the positions of the various social groups are determined by their economic interests.

Those who wish to participate in such a struggle creatively, to help history toward a goal of justice and to eliminate as much confusion, chaos and conflict in the attainment of the goal as possible, will accomplish this result only if they do not permit their own comparative emancipation from the determining and conditioning economic factors to obscure the fact that these factors are generally determining. No amount of education or religious idealism will ever persuade a social class to espouse a cause or seek a goal which is counter to its economic interest. Social intelligence can have a part in guiding social impulse only if it does not commit the error of assuming that intelligence has destroyed and sublimated impulse to such a degree that impulse is no longer potent. This is the real issue between liberalism and political realism. The liberal is an idealist who imagines that his particular type of education or his special kind of religious idealism will accomplish what history has never before revealed: the complete sublimation of the natural impulse of a social group.

DOMINANT groups will always have the impulse to hold on to their power as long as possible. In the interest of a progressive justice they must be dislodged, and this will be done least painfully and with least confusion if the social group which has the future in its hands becomes conscious of its destiny as soon as possible, is disciplined and self-confident in the knowledge of its destiny and gradually acquires all the heights of prestige and power in society which it is possible to acquire without a struggle. When the inevitable struggle comes (for all contests of power must finally issue in a crisis) there is always the possibility that the old will capitulate and the new assume social direction without internecine conflict. That is why an adequate political realism will ultimately make for more peace in society than a liberalism which does not read the facts of human nature and human history aright, and which is betrayed by these errors into erroneous historical calculations which prolong the death agonies of the old order and postpone the coming of the new.

It may be important to say in conclusion that educational and religious idealists shrink from the conclusions to which a realistic analysis of history forces the careful student, partly because they live in the false hope that the impulses of nature in man can be sublimated by mind and conscience to a larger degree than is actually possible, and partly because their own personal idealism shrinks from the "brutalities" of the social struggle which a realistic theory envisages. But this idealism is full of confusion. It does not recognize that everyone but the ascetic is a participant in the brutalities of the social struggle now. The only question of importance is on what side of the struggle they are. Think of all the kind souls who stand in horror of a social conflict who are at this moment benefiting from, and living comfortable lives at the expense of, a social system which condemns 13 million men to misery and semi-starvation. Failure to recognize this covert brutality of the social struggle is probably the greatest weakness of middle-class liberals, and it lends a note of hypocrisy and self-deception to every moral pretension which seeks to eliminate violence in the social struggle.

The relation of the sensitive conscience to the brutal realities of man's collective behavior will always create its own problem—a problem in the solution of which orthodox religion has frequently been more shrewd than liberalism because it did not over-estimate the virtue of human society, but rather recognized the "sinful" character of man's collective life. This problem has its own difficulties, and they ought not to be confused with the problem of achieving an adequate social and political strategy for the attainment of a just society or for the attainment of a higher approximation of justice than a decadent capitalism grants.

Within the House

WITHIN the House is bread enough for all,
And sumptuous raiment for the royal guest,
And closets packed with many a golden chest,
And salons glistening for the masque and ball.
Yet, in dank basements, hungry children crawl;
And, in bare attics, cowering servants rest;
And shabby cousins, scourged and dispossessed,
Cry out for alms in every court and hall.

Within the House are satins, wine and meat;
Jewels, and ringing glasses; lamps and song.
But hear! outside, the thundering of a throng
That strike with swollen fists, and beat and beat
Unanswering doors: "We ask but bread to eat!
How long, O Master of the House! how long?"

STANTON A. COBLENTZ

Wanted—Farm Life*

KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD

EARLY in June, 1932, prior to the national party conventions, *Wallace's Farmer,* one of the best of our farm papers, edited by a man who is being frequently mentioned as the next Secretary of Agriculture, outlined a party platform for farm relief, as follows:

> In a party platform that is more than a mess of words there must be included definite and inescapable pledges to the following minimum program:
>
> 1. Reduce the burden of debts and taxes by establishing a price level not lower than the 1921-29 average.
>
> 2. Give the farmer the advantage of a protected home market by authorizing the equalization fee, the debenture or the domestic allotment plan.
>
> 3. Restore foreign markets for farm products by reciprocal treaties whereby Europe can trade manufactured goods for our wheat, cotton and pork.
>
> 4. Restore the domestic market for farm products by the establishment of federal unemployment exchanges, the pushing of public works, and by banking and currency reform.
>
> 5. End reclamation projects and begin an extensive program of buying up poor land for reforestation.
>
> 6. Aid international stabilization on which much of our own prosperity depends by pushing for reduction of armaments, revision of reparations and debts, and for world monetary stabilization.

While "farm relief" clearly calls for early attempts to restore a fair price level for soil-grown products, a refunding of mortgage debt, a restoration of a former and a stable value to money, and reduction in farm taxes—yet these questions are certain to remain also as permanent issues. Nevertheless, they are not the whole rural problem. They are merely the points where the armor of social justice to agriculture is most vulnerable, and possibly also most easily repaired by legislative enactment.

Whenever legislative relief is proposed, there is always the objection that you cannot help farming by law. There accompanies this dictum a wealth of advice to farmers about their way out. Formerly, a favorite prescription was more skillful farming. There is, in all conscience, plenty of poor farming, but there are statisticians ready to prove that farming since the turn of the century has gained in efficiency almost as much as industry. Another reform proposed is to decentralize industry and thus give the farmer local markets and a local seasonal supply of labor that will be also part-time industrial labor. It is easy to see in such a scheme relief for crowded cities, but hardly relief for the farmer. Mechanized farming, with its corollary of corporation farming has been hailed as the certain development if not the panacea for rural ills. But at present this proposal is under a cloud. Nor are most agricultural economists inclined to lend encouragement to the idea.

JUST now maintenance farming is attracting attention. Here and there individuals, weary of the city, find employment and spiritual release on the little farm. Occasionally colonies are being placed on the land on terms that at least keep them from being charges on the city relief budget. No doubt many farmers have failed fully to use their manifest advantages in providing themselves with a continuing supply of fruits and vegetables, and even in some areas, of milk and poultry products. The "live-at-home" slogan in the South, for example, urged especially upon small proprietors and tenants, is wholesome for the present emergency and salutary as a habit. But maintenance farming as a policy solves the rural problem neither for urban consumers nor for urban producers, who need the huge farm population as one of the principal outlets for their manufactured wares.

But the favorite among all the pieces of urban advice is to starve the farmer out. It isn't put that way. It is said that there are too many farmers. Or that we must reckon with the law of supply and demand. Or that legislation is futile. But the matter is not so simple as all that. It is a curious fact that the farm depression set in at a time when the exodus from farm to city was the largest ever known. The general slump has thrown millions back upon the farms and thereby accentuated the farm depression. It is not unlikely that farmers may at times rely too much upon legislative relief, though it should be remembered that as a rule they seek relief by law from some situation which prior law seems to have created.

Of course, there is no formula for "solving the rural problem." Yet the issue remains. A satisfying country life and a reasonably contented country population will always remain an ideal. At bottom, the rural problem is one of status. The farmers want to feel that they are measurably on a level with other groups, that their rewards are commensurate with those coming to other classes. It is the sense of relative deterioration in the social scale that hurts. They want some of the urban conveniences and amenities. They don't want to become outcasts. They dread what they call a peasant regime.

* This is the second of a series of two articles by Mr. Butterfield dealing with the farm problem.

Now at bottom this intuitive desire for status is wholly sound. Perhaps it will appeal to some of us if we phrase it in terms of "erecting and maintaining an adequate rural civilization." For that is, after all, the real rural problem. There is a basic social issue here. In an industrial age, which so far has been characterized by urban segregation of population and concentration of wealth, privilege, and power in the cities, is it possible to retain on the land a population with an income large enough to ensure "American" standards of living, and social institutions effective enough to develop equivalent standards of cultural and community life?

THERE are three main factors determining the answer:

(1) The city. The urban people furnish the food consumers for a commercial agriculture, and urban manufacturers a market for fibres and similar raw materials. The great industries may absorb the farm surplus of population, otherwise thrown back on an already crowded land. The wealth of the city may by some fair scheme of taxation help support rural institutions like the school, or by some voluntary sharing, help maintain a strong rural church. But the city wants cheap food. It would like, in times of depression at least and indefinitely if technocracy is valid, to send its own surplus back to the land. The city shies at the principle of supporting agencies that do not give it an immediate return. The point of all this is that the root of the modern farm problem is not on the farm but in the city. Urban attitudes, requirements, demands, interests, understanding, altruism, wisdom, short-sightedness, selfishness, neglect, exploitation furnish the background for rural progress or decline. City traders, bankers, manufacturers, publicists, churchmen and legislators hold the key to the American farm problem.

(2) World aspects of our own rural problem. There is nearly world-wide agricultural stagnation, observable even before the fateful year of 1929. In fact, the Economic Committee of the League of Nations goes so far as to assert that "beyond doubt agricultural questions lie at the very heart of the world economic depression." These are measured and significant words. On the economic side the crux of the international aspect of our farm problem is whether we are to have a market for an exportable surplus. That in turn is dependent upon the national policy as to international trade, and the extent to which farming interests will receive their due recognition in tariff arrangements.

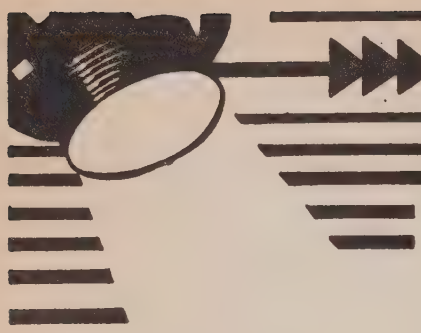
(3) The farmers themselves. Are they to have no part to play in this rural issue? Surely. Their intelligence, education, efficiency, quality of life—all are essential. But all these requirements are qualified or encouraged by the other two factors, the city and international relationships. Perhaps the most nearly inclusive requirement for farmers is their capacity for compact organization and collective action. A coöperative agriculture possibly comes nearer to spelling rural success than any other one thing. Special interests will fight rural coöperatives, but the nation as a whole could well give for the common good every possible encouragement to the adequate economic and social organization of American farmers.

IF we are to have economic planning, agriculture should be included. But special characteristics and requirements must be recognized. The demand for food is non-elastic. The call for farm products usable as raw material in manufactures is highly elastic and variable, but increasingly important; the chemical engineer is the magician in this field. Agriculture is not one industry but fifty. There is a high degree of inter-commodity competition, and of sharp regional competition within many commodities. Widely variable costs of production, seasonal variations in amount and quality of product, the fact of over six million farm managers, a wide range of intelligence in the farm group—all these enter the picture of rural planning.

In all this complexity, however, there appears to be at least one basic need, namely, a determination to secure the best possible relationship of the farm operator to the land he tills. Land should be scientifically classified, and marginal and sub-marginal land bought or leased by the government and put into trees or pastures that do not compete with naturally good cropping areas. Ownership should be encouraged by means of wise credit and fair tax schemes, and where tenancy seems inevitable, the tenants should be protected and encouraged to remain on given pieces of land. This matter of relation of the land worker to the land is nothing less than crucial.

THE status of the farm family may be taken as an inclusive test or goal in rural progress. The relation of home and farm is peculiarly intimate. The characteristic American plan of separated farm homesteads is an important element in rural social psychology. The provision of household conveniences, and of reading for the home table and library may seem obvious needs but in reality involve serious problems. In quite unique fashion, the farm home may be regarded as a vital factor in rural planning.

There is a place for an Institute of Rural Affairs, some sort of clearing-house of information and interpretation for the entire range of rural interests and ideas—technical, scientific, economic, social, political, educational, religious. We must secure synthesis as well as analysis of our rural problem. Ultimately there is no other way by which we can come to grips with it.



Not in the

Einstein Heads W. R. L.

Dr. Albert Einstein, the distinguished German scientist, has recently accepted an invitation to serve as Honorary Chairman of the War Resisters League in America. Dr. Einstein, who will spend five months of each year in the United States doing scientific work, is himself a member of the German section of the War Resisters International, a pacifist organization with active branches in 28 countries and individual memberships in every civilized nation in the world. "I thank you kindly for your greeting of welcome. I am very pleased to accept the election as Honorary Chairman since it will help you in your work," said Dr. Einstein in his letter of acceptance addressed to Jessie Wallace Hughan, secretary of the League. On his visit to New York two years ago, Dr. Einstein inspired pacifists to increased activity with his declaration that if only two per cent of the people would refuse to fight, governments could not declare war. With this statement as a new slogan, the War Resisters League launched a drive last year which approximately tripled its membership. The War Resisters League has also just announced that it will hold its Fourth Annual Conference on Militant Pacifism this spring in Washington, D. C., with the coöperation of several other peace organizations, including the New History Society, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Women's Peace Society, the League for Industrial Democracy, the All-World Gandhi Fellowship, the Women's Peace Union. Plans are being made for a peace parade in Washington on April 22nd, and a mass meeting to be addressed by John Haynes Holmes, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Devere Allen, Dorothy Detzer, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein and other eminent men and women working for the cause of peace.

Coal's Children

The American Friends Service Committee distributed in 1932 more than 2,000,000 meals for hungry school children and 100,000 meals for under-nourished pre-school children in the bituminous coal fields of Kentucky and West Virginia. At the same time 51 tons of clothing were given to shivering coal miners and their families. It was found that 99 per cent of the children are defective, lacking the proper medical and dental care. The work is done chiefly by volunteers.

Wheat Surplus Mounts

An estimate that 745,000,000 bushels of wheat remained on December 1, 1932, as the surplus carry-over for export in Canada, Australia, Argentina and the United States was made by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. This amount is 37,000,000 bushels greater in the four countries than at the same time in 1931.

Japanese Militarism

The *Japan Advertiser* reports that the principals of 61 private girls' schools of Tokyo propose that their 35,000 students receive military training, the schools purchasing from the War Office the necessary gas masks, pistols, infantry rifles and other war equipment.

Even Woll!

Matthew Woll, vice president of the American Federation of Labor and staunch conservative, told the Bond Club Wednesday that unless the present downward trend is reversed in the immediate future, and wages, prices and values start ascending, the federal government will be forced to take over private industries to an extent which will amaze even the most ardent advocates of Socialism. "The unjust and uneconomic distribution of national income," he said, "is a fundamental cause of our economic ills. Failure to raise purchasing power in proportion to productivity was the chief cause of the present depression."

Denmark's Ban on Cuts and Strikes

Angered by employers' demands for a 20 per cent wage cut, the Socialist Premier of Denmark, Theodor Stauning, demanded and got from the Parliament a law extending all present wage agreements to Feb. 1, 1934, and forbidding both strikes and lockouts until that time. All Left parties in Denmark agreed to favor or abstain from voting on decreasing the value of the krone in foreign exchange in a new fundamental agreement reached last week. The devaluation of the krone had previously been bitterly fought by the Socialists and Communists. The new program which will have agrarian support as a result of these negotiations, besides the extension of present wage contracts, includes prohibition of interest rates in excess of 3½ per cent of bank deposits, a moratorium on frozen agricultural loans, reduction of property taxes by transferring part of the public expenditure from the local to the national government, expenditure of 75 million kroner on public works, shortening of hours of labor on public works, and additional relief for the unemployed.

Foster Case Is Dropped

Dismissal of the 10-year-old criminal syndicalism charges against William Z. Foster and 17 others by the Circuit Court in St. Joseph, Mich., on Feb. 6 was hailed by the American Civil Liberties Union as "a fitting repudiation of a stool-pigeon prosecution engendered by the Department of Justice under Daugherty and Burns." Recently both the national office and the Detroit branch of the A. C. L. U. had appealed to Attorney General Patrick J. O'Brien to nol-pros the indictment. "The court's action was the only possible sane procedure in the case," declared Roger N. Baldwin, director of the Union. "It would have been absurd to try those men now merely for associating with a political movement which has long been legally on the ballot in Michigan."

For Easing the Debts

Seeking to hasten a return of prosperity through a prompt and permanent settlement of the war debts, 32 influential organizations representing cotton, shipping, farm and labor interests in 11 Southern states, have begun a campaign to enlist all Cotton Belt Representatives and Senators in support of the forthcoming negotiations with Great Britain and other debtor nations. Resolutions urging their spokesmen in the National Legislature to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards this question have already been adopted and forwarded by these bodies, which include cotton exchanges, chambers of commerce, labor unions and farm groups, together constituting an effective cross-section of business opinion in the 11 states.

Scottsboro Witness Retracts

The state's star witness against the nine Scottsboro boys recently completely repudiated her testimony charging them with rape. "Those policemen made me tell a lie," she wrote to a former sweetheart. "Those Negroes did not touch me." The letter containing her denial of the lies she told on the witness stand was intercepted and suppressed by Huntsville, Alabama, police. The International Labor Defense, which has conducted an international fight for the release of the nine Negro youths framed on rape charges, forced the court to produce the letter. Written by Ruby Bates, whose testimony was the basis for sentencing the boys to the chair, the letter knocks the props from under the state's case. When the letter was produced, however, the hearing was postponed eight days. Rumors that a lynching is being planned, since the legal lynching may be stopped by this letter, have caused the I. L. D. to demand safeguards for the boys' lives.

Headlines

Better Wages 25 Years Ago

The Consumers' League of New York charged, in a summary of their recently conducted survey, wholesale violations of the cannery code adopted by the New York Labor Department in 1932. In some instances wages paid to women were reported as low as eight cents an hour, a lower rate than that paid 25 years ago. Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick, secretary of the league, asserted that concerning the new canning code, which was adopted last year after its provisions had been jointly worked out by the State Department of Labor and the Canners Association, "the situation as it existed in 1928 is practically unchanged; the canners, except in a few instances, have signally failed to make good on their agreement with the Labor Department."

The Cost of War

The U. S. Government's expenditures in the fiscal year 1932 for past and future wars constituted 130 per cent of the government's income. The appropriations for past and future wars for 1933 consume 100 per cent of the anticipated income for the year.

Civil Rights for Indians

The Committee on Indian Civil Rights is launching a campaign to remove 194,500 American Indians from their status as wards of the federal government and to grant them the civil rights enjoyed by other citizens. No Indian can at present make contracts, borrow money, draw his own money, bequeath property, or hire a lawyer without permission of the Indian Bureau. *The Indian Primer* has just been issued explaining the situation. The Indian Bureau and the Department of the Interior are opposed to the movement.

Richmond's Chief

Action by the Socialist Party to oust the public safety director and police chief of Richmond, following the breaking up of a hunger march there by police, has the support of the American Civil Liberties Union. The march was staged Feb. 4 by the local Unemployed Council, its route leading around the City Hall. Abe Tomkin, founder of the local council, led the paraders, and was arrested in the middle of a speech. Nine prominent Socialists, who attended the demonstration as observers, issued a statement afterward in which they demanded that Mayor J. Fulmer Bright dismiss the two police heads. They attested that Tomkin's speech was mild, reserved, and dignified, and that there was no ground for his arrest nor for the dispersal of the gathering.

Negroes Barred From Negro Play

Barring of Negroes, who form more than 25 per cent of the population of the national capital, from the National Theatre when "Green Pastures" is being presented there, has been formally protested by Marc Connelly, author, and Rowland Stebbins, producer of the famous play. In a joint letter to the National Theatre management they say that if this exclusion is enforced, they will do all in their power to see that no future productions in which they are interested are shown at this playhouse.

Two Socialists Line Up 45

The resolution introduced in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives by Darlington Hoopes, Socialist, demanding cash payment of relief to unemployed, was killed after a floor fight in which the two Socialist legislators lined up 45 votes in favor of the measure. The resolution was sponsored by Hoopes at the request of the organized unemployed of Reading.

Taxi!

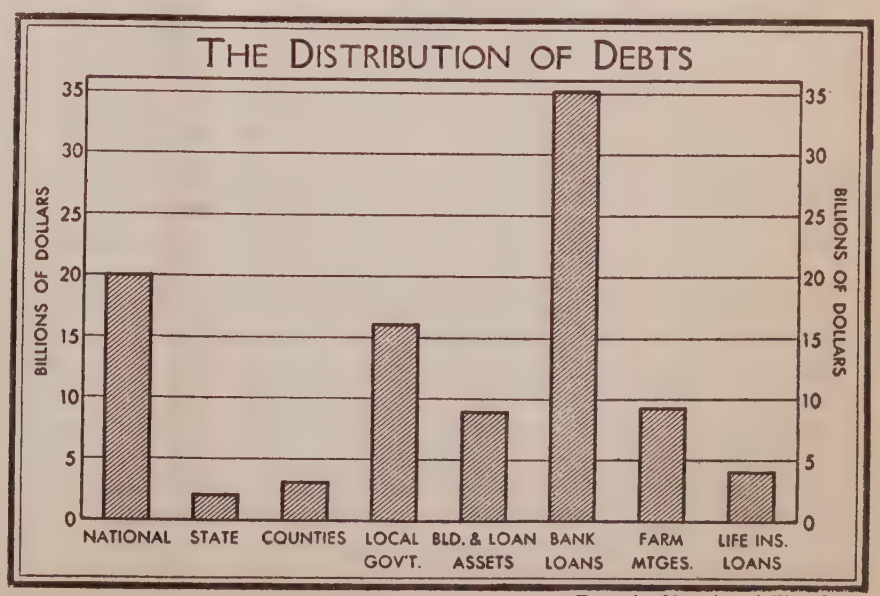
After a strike lasting since September 1, Oakland taxi drivers have gone back to work on a compromise settlement. The original wage was $3 a day, plus 40 per cent of the net income over $45 a week. The men struck against an effort to reduce this drastically. They will now receive 40 per cent straight of their net income, plus five per cent extra if they have no accidents; no guarantee minimum will be made.

English Tactics in India

A fine of 80,000 rupees has just been imposed by the British government upon the whole Hindu population of the town of Chittagong and several neighboring villages, because the government has been unable to catch a few revolutionists who committed some terrorist crimes in Chittagong some months ago. One of the ordinances that the Viceroy refused to discuss with Gandhi authorized the government to inflict collective punishments upon whole communities for the offenses of individuals. A deputation went to Calcutta and represented to Sir John Anderson, the Governor of Bengal, that this big fine would cause great suffering to thousands of perfectly innocent persons; but the official turned a deaf ear, and has sent down special officers to begin at once to collect the fine by force.

Form Debtors' League

Francis Juggins, Boston financial attorney, has announced that a League of Debtors is being formed to save poor persons from being persecuted by collectors, shyster lawyers and tough creditors. A large staff of attorneys will devote themselves exclusively to debtors' problems, he declared. "Approximately a billion dollars is owed in New England by individuals under the $5,000-a-year class or unemployed," Juggins said. "Many have been browbeaten into jeopardizing their jobs, their futures and the livelihood of their families."



From the *Magazine of Wall Street*

Is Coercion Compatible with Religion?

KIRBY PAGE

IS compulsion necessarily a violation of the law of love? Is it impossible to exercise coercion in the spirit of active goodwill? Does forcible restraint necessarily mean a departure from the principle of mutuality? Does loyalty to the Golden Rule lead to acquiescence in the face of evil or at most to *passive* resistance? Do the two Great Commandments forbid all kinds of social coercion?

Here is a fundamental problem of this age. If an affirmative answer is given to these questions, a logical consequence will be the withdrawal of religionists from active participation in the class struggle, on the one hand, and, on the other, the repudiation of religion as a practical and beneficent factor under present circumstances by persons who consider forcible restraint and coercion as absolutely essential to social justice.

A sharp cleavage between religionists and social revolutionists would constitute a tragedy of first magnitude. Such a separation would in actuality mean allegiance to the present social system by churches and synagogues, for in the existing situation to be neutral or inactive is in reality to render valiant support to the present holders of power and privilege. It still remains true that there are circumstances under which "he that is not for us is against us." In that event, those persons who are seeking to impose collective restraints and coercions upon iniquitous vested interests would naturally conclude that religionists who actively support their oppressors or stand passively upon the sidelines must be numbered among their enemies. The inevitable result would be bitter hostility to religion and a determined effort to extirpate it as a social curse, as is now the case in Soviet Russia.

But we are not impaled upon the horns of this dilemma, the rejoinder will be made from certain quarters. To withhold approval from the use of restraint or compulsion is not necessarily to be neutral or inactive. It is still possible to be unrestrained in condemnation of evil and untiring in the endeavor to convert and transform wrongdoers. And this response requires us to consider two fundamental questions: Have we reason to believe that conversion of the present owners of property will produce the necessary social changes required in order that justice may be secured by the victims of the existing economic system? Is there available a supplementary method which is both ethically justifiable and socially effective? My own opinion can be put in few words: Persuasion by itself will *not* suffice; but fortunately ethical forms of effective coercion are available.

The wielding of power has a blinding effect. For a slave owner to understand the significance of the process out of which emerged his privileges, prestige and power was a near-miracle. Even genuinely converted Christians—that is, those who were gripped by a passionate desire to do the will of God—failed to see the inherent cruelty of the slave system, but instead looked upon it as being divinely ordained. Century after century truly devout men supported the political order of the divine right of kings, and for hundreds of years the churches sanctioned and supported the feudal system, with all its semi-slavery and inhumanity. Multitudes of Christians in the United States at the present time, men and women who zealously aspire to Christlikeness, conscientiously support the capitalist system and fail to understand its inherent cruelty and injustice.

Moreover, even among the small company of the elect who do recognize the incompatibility of the present industrial system with their religion, there is widespread paralysis because of timidity and a sense of impotence. For a powerful industrialist to condemn unsparingly the system out of which he secured wealth and prestige and to commit himself untiringly to the task of transforming the old system into a radically different economic order requires courage of a higher quality than is possessed by most persons, even though they have good intentions. Indeed, the trouble is much more deep-rooted because of the inherent difficulties confronting a man who seeks to conduct his business on an ideal basis within an unjust social order. To pay really adequate wages is for many a business man now impossible because of the ruthlessness of the competitive struggle. Long ago Robert Hunter pointed out in his provocative volume, *Why We Fail As Christians*, the impossibility of being fully Christian in an un-Christian society.

THE evidence, therefore, seems to me conclusive that there is only a remote possibility of converting enough property owners to make possible the transformation of the present economic order by voluntary action from the top; with perhaps an even more remote chance that these regenerated individuals will be able by persuasion to abolish the prevailing barbarous exploitation on the part of their unredeemed competitors. That the millions of miserable victims of capitalism will wait for this age-long process to alleviate their suffering appears wholly unlikely. Thus the assumption that religion must rely exclusively upon non-coercive methods is fraught with infinite social peril. It is

imperative, therefore, that we discover and utilize effective means of restraint and compulsion that are consistent with religion.

And so we return to the question, Is compulsion necessarily a violation of the law of love? To offer an affirmative answer is to deny the validity of all existing governments. This is the position taken by Tolstoy and other absolute non-resistants. Few readers of these words, however, will agree that anarchy alone is consistent with love. Failure to isolate an individual who has contracted an infectious disease, even in spite of his objection, might cost hundreds of lives. Under present circumstances and for a long time in the future, coercive penalties will be necessary for the enforcement of the sanitary code and pure food laws. The refusal to enforce traffic regulations against careless or reckless offenders would make the highways impassable. The policy of leaving the question of paying taxes to the discretion and thoughtfulness of the individual, with no compulsion attempted, would produce gross injustice. In a community which includes immature, abnormal and depraved persons, failure to provide police protection would certainly lead to outrages, loss of life, and retaliatory violence.

THE proposition is debatable that at some future time a society will have been created in which no forcible restraint or coercion of any kind will be needed, but no reader of this paragraph will live that long. For this generation the question assumes the form: In our complex civilization is coercion in some form essential to security, justice, and social harmony? And there is only one possible answer. Pure anarchy in this country, now or at any time in the near future, would lead only to chaos and violence. Only a few persons out of our entire population would dissent from this conclusion. The only differences of opinion among us have to do with the realms in which compulsion is required, appropriate methods of making it effective, and the degree to which it may justifiably be carried.

We must now face the vital question of whether or not religion is practicable under present conditions. If compulsion is absolutely incompatible with love toward one's neighbor, then the conclusion is inescapable that truly religious persons cannot function as citizens of complex modern communities, and if consistent must withdraw to ascetic colonies. But was Tolstoy justified in interpreting the Sermon on the Mount in anarchistic terms? The answer cannot be found in isolated texts or combinations thereof, but rather in a consideration of the basic elements which together constitute the religion of Jesus. He himself summed up his message as a twofold obligation of love toward God and love toward all men, including enemies. The Golden Rule of conduct was phrased in terms of mutuality: "do unto others as you would have them do unto you." The true criterion of every thought and deed must, therefore, be found in its effects upon human personality, human relations, and communion between man and God.

PERHAPS we may gain illumination from a consideration of the way true love may legitimately express itself in a home. Does deep affection on the part of a father rule out all forcible restraint or compulsion of a son? Or is it truer to say that under certain circumstances love just because it is love will coerce the loved one? Consider this situation: a son in a fit of rage seizes a chair and is about to kill his sister. The father is near at hand and quickly reaches the conclusion that nothing short of physical restraint will save his daughter's life. Will the use of force against his son constitute a violation of the spirit of love? The only ethical answer is an emphatic negative. Love toward son and love toward daughter alike demand the prevention, by ethical means, of a terrible crime.

The central problem here involved may be evaded by saying that if the son had received proper training such a situation would never have arisen, or that other means than forcible restraint are open to the father. But the crucial question for those of us who live in a wicked and sinful generation is this: If failure on the father's part to use force would cost the daughter's life, would such restraint be incompatible with genuine love toward the son? By no means. On the contrary, for the father to permit a crime which he could prevent would itself constitute a base betrayal of affection for the boy. That is to say, there is no inherent irreconcilability between love and coercion, but rather the reverse; under some circumstances love ceases to be love if it fails to use moral means of restraint.

THUS we may say that coercion is not necessarily a contradiction of religion and that the actual problem before us is the determination of just what forms of compulsion are consistent with active goodwill. I am therefore unable to agree with Reinhold Niebuhr when he writes: "Nothing is clearer than that a pure religious idealism must issue in a policy of non-resistance which makes no claims to be socially efficacious." Nor can I follow Theodore C. Hume when he says: " . . . an appeal to social coercion, as a buttress of moral ideals, falls short of the teaching and example of Jesus." Non-resistance in the sense of rejecting all forms of coercion is not always a legitimate expression of love toward man and love toward God. Indeed, as I have been pointing out, the refusal under some circumstances to exercise forcible restraint is a betrayal of love and therefore a betrayal of high religion. An ethical and rational individual, who in a moment of uncontrolled rage was about to do irreparable damage to another person, would look with gratitude upon a friend who forcibly restrained him from com-

mitting an act of madness. The Golden Rule does not forbid all compulsion: on the contrary there may be occasions when to "do unto others as you would have them do unto you" requires coercion. Forcibly to restrain a drunken youth who is about to outrage a struggling young woman is not to abandon the principle of active goodwill. A physical blow against a kidnapper who is attempting to flee with a small child is not a denial of the doctrine of mutuality. *In countless situations in an imperfect society a man in the truest spirit of the noblest religion must resort to coercion.*

BUT the further question must be faced: may the true spirit of religion be expressed in coercive action against anti-social groups? Does the principle of mutuality permit the adoption of compulsory measures against exploiters and oppressors? Are there forms of resistance to evil which are compatible with goodwill?

It may be rewarding in this connection to consider again the response of Mahatma Gandhi to this fundamental question. Here is an exalted seer of religion who is passionately convinced that mass coercion of evildoers is not only permissible but obligatory. Acquiescence in the face of foreign exploitation he regards as a betrayal of religion. Reverence for the personalities of his people prompts him to unrelenting opposition. That mutuality is impossible as long as the present status is maintained is a fixed idea in his mind, and with entire goodwill he is exerting terrific pressure—moral, political and economic—against the imperialism of Britain. He repudiates hatred and weapons of violence, but is resolutely determined to compel the conqueror to transfer political sovereignty to his countrymen. And there is an abundance of evidence that England will be obliged to yield.

But, the rejoinder will be made, Mr. Gandhi is not wholly consistent and his movement contains elements which cannot be reconciled with high religion. Some of his supporters exhibit venomous hatred toward the British and occasionally persons enrolled under his banner resort to violent outrages. And the more effective his campaign of non-coöperation becomes, the more severe the suffering imposed upon English workers who are thereby thrown out of employment. It would be futile to maintain that any political movement can be kept absolutely free from ethical inconsistencies, or to contend that Mr. Gandhi's campaign of non-violent non-coöperation is entirely without moral contradictions. But with emphasis the assertion may be made that, when all the complex aspects of the situation are taken into account, there has been miraculously little violence, while enmity has been kept at an amazingly low level. And it is especially important to correct a frequently repeated statement that the non-coöperation movement is causing starvation in the textile regions of England. Such is not the case, although it is true that the degree of financial burden placed upon the government in providing unemployment relief has thereby been increased. The suffering voluntarily endured by Indian participants in the non-coöperation movement is much more severe than that imposed upon the oppressing nation, although it is much less ghastly than the agony of soldiers on the battlefield.

Of the three alternatives open to the people of India—acquiescence for years to come, revolutionary war, and non-violent non-coöperation—it seems clear to me that Mr. Gandhi has chosen the method which is most consistent with respect for personality, mutuality, and active goodwill. That is to say, the method which is most consistent with religious idealism is proving to be also the most practical political procedure.

But the question is sure to be raised: Are you justified in saying that coercion is consistent with religion in the light of Jesus' rejection of force as a means of delivering his people from the bondage of Rome? There are two ways of attempting to get at the roots of this problem. First, by examining and comparing the various Biblical texts that are relevant to the discussion, and basing a conclusion upon specific passages ("Resist not him that is evil"—"Go and buy a sword"—or other isolated injunctions). Second, by discovering the basic constituent elements in Jesus' religion and by viewing our own contemporary problems through the mind of Christ. If we follow the latter course, the question we are considering takes the following forms: Is coercion consistent with love toward God and man? Is compulsion compatible with deep reverence for personality? Does forcible restraint ever contribute to the building of the Family of God?

The evidence is too fragmentary to enable us to reach an infallible conclusion as to the degree to which Jesus actually resorted to coercion, or to determine with finality the reasons why he acted as he did in specific situations. Nevertheless, the record is crystal clear as to the essential nature of his way of life. He sought to live every day as a good member of God's Home, and tested every attitude and deed by the criteria of the sacredness of personality, the principle of mutuality, and the practice of fellowship. Repeatedly he challenged his disciples to live daily as if the Family of God had already come.

It is of course true that in our own day we cannot always decide from the literal example of Jesus just what course of action in a specific setting will enable us most completely to exalt personality and to harmonize human relations. But the basic concepts and experiences of his religion—which in theological language we call the mind of Christ—are as valid today as when he walked Galilee in the flesh, and if lifted up will throw a vast flood of illumination upon the complex problems of our modern civilization.

In our next issue I shall face the question as to whether it is ever morally justifiable to take human life, and shall discuss class war in the light of religion.

The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW *reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.*

Religion and Social Work

The Contribution of Religion to Social Work. By Reinhold Niebuhr. Columbia University Press. $2.00.

THE Forbes Lectures for 1930 (delivered at the New York School of Social Work), the publication of which was delayed until recently, make their appearance almost coincidently with the author's widely discussed *Moral Man and Immoral Society*. To say that this little book is a sort of antidote for the larger one suggests a greater degree of contrast than exists, and, besides, there is little point in saying it in view of the fact that the latter work represents the author's more recent thinking. Yet the reader who was depressed by *Moral Man and Immoral Society* may well turn to these lectures, written with a different emphasis and perspective.

A useful historical sketch of the social enterprises of religion is followed by a discriminating analysis of religiously motivated philanthropy. "Constitutionally preoccupied with the motives of ethical actions," religion fails to deal with an "entire social situation." Demonstrably true. Whence springs the "paradox that the Christian conscience should so frequently suffer injustice to continue, because it knows of no way to resist it without violating its perfectionist ideal of love."

In the chapters dealing with social health and the social worker's own faith Mr. Niebuhr discloses some of his deepest religious insights. "The ultimate affirmation of religion about the goodness of God remains, of course, a hypothesis of faith which can never be proved to those who are preoccupied with the chaos and evil which life reveals; neither can it be disproved to those who have felt it validated in their own inner experience. That is the character of religious faith; it must remain ultrarational to the end, because it makes the world that is external to man relevant to his enterprise, an absurdity according to every canon of pure rationality, but an absurdity which has in it the root of ultimate wisdom, and which is perpetrated by many unconsciously, even while they disavow it." A religious assumption about life is needed in order to maintain a sense of its worth. It is not possible in terms of "pure reason to choose a goal for your life and to believe in its own importance."

Here is a sentence prophetic of the thesis developed with such devastating thoroughness in the later work: "One reason why our generation is not religious is that it has been too sentimental to be thoroughly pessimistic. It has never looked into the bottomless abyss, on the edge of which all the citadels of faith are built." And here is another which contains priceless wisdom for social workers and for all of us: "If progress be regarded as automatic, there is no real place for religion, however diligent may be the effort to read God into the evolutionary process."

By comparison with the vital faith which for Mr. Niebuhr is religion, the thing he calls "classical religion" is uninspiring and ineffectual. But so is social work as represented by a host of social technicians: "Community workers, at the present moment, are not known for their vigorous social views. Most of them content themselves with the task of alleviating suffering with the resources which are available, without speaking unequivocally to their fellow citizens about the necessity of more adequate methods of social readjustment. Thus social work, in its acceptance of philanthropy as a substitute for real social justice, and for all its scientific pretensions, does not rise very much higher than most sentimental religious generosity."

The future belongs to the proletarian, says Mr. Niebuhr in his concluding word. And if he fails "to appreciate any values in the religion which comes out of the agonies and mysteries of individual life, it will be chiefly because individual religion will have betrayed its social task."

F. ERNEST JOHNSON

War in Black and White

1914—?, A Book of Drawings. By Arthur Stadler. The Servire Press, Ltd., The Hague. Cloth, $1.50. Paper, $1.00.

THE stark realities of armed conflict have attracted the talents of many an artist in Europe, where the radicals in particular have sought ever since the World War to prove that the pencil is mightier than the sword. They haven't, of course, succeeded. But some of them have played a gallant part in the crusade against war, trying to atone, it seems, for the Bairnsfathers and others whose sympathetic work has been chiefly directed to the job of making warfare a bit more sad, a bit more comic, a bit more palatable. Somehow, the ironic directness of a Daumier has not reproduced itself in the generation of anti-war artists that have sprung up since the Armistice. Daenens, whose interesting work has appeared so often in THE WORLD TOMORROW, has mastered the technique of the line and wrought subtlety into some of his effective pieces; though he, too, attacks war with a broadsword rather than a rapier. Possibly the numerous books of hideous war photographs which have appeared on the Continent are the crude apotheosis of the fear motif to which the various wielders of the crayon are only an approximation.

At any rate, Arthur Stadler leaves no doubt of his intent. He is out to show war as he saw it at the front himself. From the cover, with its ghastly cadaver lying in a shell hole, to the final picture of a conscientious objector marched off to prison by a mob of symbolic soldiers, statesmen, and war-mad people formed into a cross of sacrifice, Stadler's medium is blood and tears. Many of his efforts are too heavy-handed to leave any sense of poignancy; but some of them get under your skin and stay there.

The artist has divided his work into sections: Might, Hell, No Man's Land, The People, The Damned, National Glory, and Man. Each drawing is titled in English, German, French, Flemish, and Dutch. An apostrophe in each of these tongues is printed as a foreword. In these lines, often more propagandist than poetic, though at times flaring up in poetic anger, Stadler cries: "Man—more valueless than the beast—throw away your shackles—break the guns asunder—turn to the light—choose between God or Satan!"

For the collector of anti-war material, this finely-printed book is one not to be omitted. Nor should it be absent from libraries, reading rooms, schools and colleges. It raises again, however, a perennial inquiry: Is the employment of dread, of fear, of horror, likely to lead in the direction of peace? Shaw shrewdly declares in his *Man of Destiny* that "It is fear that makes men fight; it is cowardice that makes them run away." Surely no one would be impelled by these drawings, or others like them, to embrace war as a noble or romantic pursuit. But aren't those days long since gone by? The danger to our generation, or at any rate that portion of it which, until the depression came along, was growing effete, was not the lure of the glorious, but the lure of the bold, the noisome, the raw brutality of conflict.

Whatever be the precise limitations of the propaganda of terror as an aid to peace, Stadler has fired a mighty salvo for better or for worse. It will, at least, make militarists rage; and possibly that alone, keeping them thus occupied emotionally, will contribute not a little to the prevention of new war.

D. A.

CORRESPONDENCE

L. I. D. Lecture Series

YOUR readers will be interested to know of the far-flung educational venture in the social and economic field that is being carried on by the League for Industrial Democracy. Sponsored by local committees, a series of eight discussion lectures is being given during the months of February and March in the following cities:

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Erie, Pa.
Evansville, Ind.
Flint, Mich.
Grand Rapids, Mich.
Greensboro, N. C.
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New Brunswick, N. J.
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Stamford, Conn.
Summit, N. J.
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Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Youngstown, O.

The program includes a discussion on: The Heritage of the Frontier; Education Limited; Men and Land; The New Proletariat; Men and Machines; The Literature of Revolt; National Security and A New Philosophy for a New Age. The final speakers in the various cities are: Devere Allen, Oscar Ameringer, Paul Blanshard, McAlister Coleman, Royal Hall, Harry W. Laidler, Reinhold Niebuhr, Tucker Smith and Norman Thomas.

Plans are crystalizing for a similar program in 1934. Organizations or individuals wishing to learn further details on the series for 1933 or 1934 are urged to write to the League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th Street.

New York, N. Y. MARY W. HILLYER, *Secretary*

Clearing a Misunderstanding

THE editorial in your issue of February 15, 1933, entitled "Conscience vs. Maryland U.", includes a misstatement.

It is somewhat embarrassing to us because of the complimentary references in the editorial to us, as attorneys for Ennis H. Coale and Wayne L. Lees, but the fact is that we do not represent in these cases or otherwise the Committee on Militarism in Education. We represent only Coale and Lees and have no professional responsibility to any other person, committee or organization of any kind. We are so completely committed to this position by statements made in Court, to opposing counsel and otherwise, that we feel obliged to notice any contrary statement or intimations and to request that they be publicly corrected.

We regard it as ethically improper for us to discuss publicly the Coale case while it is pending on appeal, but, in the circumstances, we request you to publish this letter to prevent any further misunderstanding on the matter of representation and our responsibility as attorneys.

Baltimore, Md. JOHN H. SKEEN
REUBEN OPPENHEIMER

Credit Where Due

THE Committee on Militarism in Education appreciates the interest in and support for the campaign against militarism expressed in your editorial upon the Maryland Case. We are grateful for the bouquet thrown our way, but in this particular case we should like to pass the credit on to various groups in the State of Maryland.

The steadfast conviction of the boys, the active support of public-spirited citizens, the hard work of the attorneys (who represent the boys and not our Committee), and the careful decision of Judge Ulman deserve all the praise.

New York, N. Y. TUCKER P. SMITH, *Secretary*

Today's Money-Makers

AT the conference on the Cause and Cure of War, which was just held in Washington, special attention was given to "War Provoking Influences of the Manufacture of Armaments." The eleven national women's organizations represented, which number many million members and which have departments devoted to international friendship and world organization, have studied many phases of the causes of international disputes and are convinced that one serious cause of the great appropriations for armaments, which has not lessened since the Paris Pact to renounce war as a national policy, is the subtle influence and control over newspapers, especially in France, wielded by armament firms, which can silence even when they do not corrupt editors and proprietors.

A valuable little pamphlet, entitled "The Truth About War Makers," written by Lieutenant Colonel George A. Drew, of Canada, reveals in startling fashion not only the machinations of our American Shearer, which many already have quite forgotten, but the colossal mischief done by the so-called "man of mystery," Zaharoff, a Greek now living in Paris. Abnormally shrewd and clever in silently working to get the famous armament makers in different countries under his control, he became, as Colonel Drew puts it, "the super-Shearer of all time." "Through Vickers he controlled armament companies in Italy, Russia, Spain, Japan and Canada. He had substantial holdings in the Schneider-Creusot Company in France. Through his associates he was share-

holder in Krupp, also in the Skoda gun factory, where Germany made her mighty howitzers." When the war came, he was a mysterious figure of almost unbelievable power. He became the confidant of Lloyd George; throughout the war his power continually increased. In 1917, when there was some discussion of the advisability of peace negotiations through the United States, and President Wilson hoped for a "peace without victory," this armament maker, who had interests on both sides, "was consulted by the small group of men who decided the issue." The British ambassador at Paris records that Zaharoff is all for continuing the war *jusqu'au bout;* a lame peace would cause squabbles between the Entente Allies." So those who were clamoring for "a fight to the finish" eagerly sought the entrance of the United States into the war, though up to the time that we went in only 14 Americans going on American vessels had been killed. In 1916 a Belgian Senator said to me: "I hope the war will end in a draw; because if it ends in a draw, both sides will see the futility of force; but if one side is triumphant and the other crushed, both sides will continue to believe in force." This is precisely what happened. If there could have been a negotiated peace, and this might have been but for the influence of armament makers, millions of lives and many billions of dollars might have been saved; and the bitter aftermath of war, even though the depression has also other causes, might not have laid its burden on the rising generation.

Brookline, Mass. LUCIA AMES MEAD

Who's Who in This Issue

Carl John Bostelmann is the author of "April Comes Early" and other volumes of verse.

Stanton A. Coblentz is a frequent contributor of poetry to prominent American publications, book reviewer for several New York newspapers and the author of *Marching Men—the Story of War.*

F. Ernest Johnson is executive secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and editor of the *Information Service,* bulletin of that organization's Department of Research and Education.

Kenyon L. Butterfield, former president of Michigan State College, is the author of "The Farmer and the New Day" and other works on rural problems.

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THAT innate sentimentalism of which I have so often had to plead guilty stirred in my breast once more as I read the other day that in Hartford, Connecticut, and in Queens, New York City, two separate associations for the apprehension of horse thieves had finally after eighty years decided to disband. The reason, of course, was not the unwillingness of these vigilantes to pursue anyone stealing a horse, but that it would be so hard to find anyone nowadays wanting to steal one. Stated in terms of ergs, I suppose a horse was always a wasteful means of proceeding from what physicists and heavy drinkers refer to as place to place. Even when not working, a horse has to eat. But I can easily grow lachrymose over the shift which has taken place in equine economy; for there was a time when horses were the special mark of the lower classes, and since I had always had horses near by, and being in the lower class has always been all right with me, this was sheer contentment. Now, I am sure, if I had a horse the beast would make me perpetually uncomfortable; for in the region around New York, at any rate, only the rich can afford horses. It may not be impossible that, two generations or so in the future, when we move through space by exerting a unit of will-energy, and fly from here to there like kernels of popcorn, only the dictators will be able to enjoy motor transportation.

Unlikely am I to forget the deacon for whom I labored in the fields, dairy and stables a 60- to 66-hour week at fifteen cents per hour, less than two decades ago; nor the kindly way in which he consented after long thought, to rent me his horse and buggy for a couple of hours one Sunday afternoon so I might drive out with Normala under the autumn leaves. That he charged me only half a dollar made me wonder not a little—until I found, at the crucial moment, that the buggy was minus a dashboard and that I had to make up a harness from assorted items he had left behind when he rode off earlier with the best of everything. The harness was no problem, for in those days I held myself, not without justice, an expert; but the buggy had to be surreptitiously exchanged with a kindly neighbor's. Yet whenever I come across one of our modern four-wheeled living-rooms parked with lights turned low, I reflect contentedly that the years of service given me by old Babe, our light mare, can in no wise be matched by present-day automata; for all I had to do was hitch the reins to the whip-socket and the knowing animal would wander aimlessly for a while, eventually bringing us home precisely as the town clock struck eleven. The ancients who invested their horses with symbolic wings were not far wrong; for while the custom may have been unconscious evidence of a hankering after greater speed, it was rather, I think, a tribute to that bond of zestful spirits signalized by Dauphin, in Shakespeare's Henry the Fifth: "When I bestride him, I soar; I am a hawk; he trots the air; the earth sings when he touches it."

ALL of which is not a long throw, if I may say so, to the Prince of Wales. H.R.H. has been conspicuous lately in the press, and I am wondering what new product Britain has to sell. It seems that the life of the young man whose little red chair in the House of Lords has long since been outgrown, is going to be filmed for charity. It'll be a job, varying from the purchase of a dozen costly handbags at Biarritz to a trip through the coal-mining towns of the Midlands. But I have a fellow-feeling for the Prince, in spite of all. For recently after driving an Underground train to Piccadilly Circus, he led the manager to an escalator which, he supposed, went down; but which, to the roars of the crowd, took him up instead. Your royal undersigned himself once spent an unnecessary fifteen minutes riding alternately up and down that very escalator, wishing passionately for an old-fashioned banister instead. Some day I hope to be able to rise and sing, "*Oh* to be in *Eng*land, now that *from* her life and *laws,* she has *def*initely *aban*doned the *es*calator clause." Jolly rot, what?

Eccentricus

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